I: Garnett D-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yezidis 1892

K 515 rupture of the tie is simulated, though she is in reality purchased by the promise sent at the time of betrothal. But although Moslems, the Kizils are practically monogamists, and divorce, though permitted, is very rare among them. Their customary oath, "May I divorce my wife if I," &c., will illustrate their unwillingness to avail themselves of this privilege.

K 517 583 586 The Yezidi sect are, however, polygamists, and, like the Turks, may have three wives. Marriages with near relatives, and also with brothers- or sisters-in-law, are common among them, and no objection is made to divorce as with the Moslem Kizils. Their

K V 585 743 weddings are performed by Sheikhs of their own creed, the preliminaries being usually settled by the friends of the contracting parties. The ceremony consists of a mutual public declaration in the presence of the priest, who pronounces a blessing on the couple, and it concludes with the bridegroom's giving to the Sheikh a loaf, and receiving in return one of consecrated bread, which he divides with the bride. It is said that, when pronouncing the marriage oath, the bridegroom stands in running water, signifying that he thus washes away the binding nature of the promise, and consequently renders its breach less sinful. The lower

V [743] grades of the sacerdotal order, the *pîrs* and *faqeers*, perform the marriage ceremony for the common people; but the services of the Sheikh Nâsir, or high priest, are sometimes secured by persons of consequence in the community.

K 764 A Kûrdish funeral, although it forms a striking

In Current B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 191
MA11 Hand MA11
Yezidi MSS

contrast to the quiet solemnity which is characteristic of Moslems generally in the presence of death, is a most impressive sight. If the deceased has been a person of consequence, military standards are borne in the procession, and, in some places, Kawwalah for instance, the body is accompanied to the grave with music and singing. When the funeral leaves the house, men and women rush wildly out, uttering cries and shrieks, and tearing their hair and clothes. Some raise their hands to heaven, others bow themselves to the earth, and cast dust upon their heads, expressing both in sound and gesture the very abandonment of grief.

The funeral rites of the Yezidis are both peculiar and interesting. When a member of this sect is believed to be at the point of death, a *kawwal* is called in, who pours into the mouth of the moribund a quantity of water. If he should expire before this ceremony has been performed, it is deferred until his body is carried to the grave. The body is laid out with the arms crossed over the breast, and not, as with the Moslems, extended by the sides. In the coffin are placed a piece of bread, some coins, and a stick, for the use of the deceased when the "questioners" appear, for, like the Moslems, the Yezidis believe in post-mortem catechists. Should Mounkir, when he arrives, attended by his scribe Nakir, to interrogate him concerning his faith and the character of his life, pronounce him unworthy to cross the threshold of Paradise, the dead man tries to bribe him to alter his decision, first with the bread, then with the silver. If these are unavailing, he resorts

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MAIL Hand MAIL
Taxable Article

E 7 772 to exercise, and with the stick opens his own way to heaven.

E 7 ● 787 So long as the body remains in the house hymns are chanted by the deceased, who also accompany the body to the grave, carrying censers, which they swing as they go. For several successive days the friends of the deceased visit his resting-place, men and women in separate parties, every morning and evening, the latter to weep and wail and the former to sit in silence, burning incense the while.*

E 787 777 778 As water is one of the emblems of Yezd, the Life-giving Principle, the pouring of it into the mouth of the dying probably signifies, or it may be, is intended to confer, vitality after death, or metempsychosis in some form or other, this doctrine being believed to be held by the Yezidis.

E 787 782 The only change made in their costume by the Kizzilash women as a sign of mourning is the substitution of a black veil for that usually worn out of doors.

* Comp. Badger, The Nestorians, &c., p. 130.

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Ward MA11

Said the Hodja, "I have mounted a thousand steps to get up here—ask the man what he wants, and then kill me."

But the man insisted on the Hodja's coming down to him at once, so the good woman again went to call him. Finding the caller so persistent, the Hodja said to himself, "Perhaps he comes on some business matter. I had better go down."

Hurrying down the staircase, he fell and hurt himself, and, coming to the door out of temper, found there a beggar, who said:

"For Allah's sake, give me an aspre!"

"Come this way," replied the Hodja, and he led the man up the staircase. When they had mounted forty steps, the Hodja turned to the beggar and said, "Go, may Allah send thee one."

"You might have said that to me downstairs," grumbled the beggar.

"Man," replied the Hodja, "thou didst bring me down a thousand steps to hear this say, 'Give me an aspre,' and hast learn the cause of my fall and my hurt. I bring thee up but forty steps to hear me say, 'May Allah give it thee.'"

Nasr-ed-Din Hodja and the Corpse.

One day, as the Hodja was at home washing his clothes, a man came to request him to perform the ablutionary rite for a corpse, so that it might be buried.

"I am busy," replied the Hodja; "I am washing my clothes. Go, bring the corpse here, lay it on this

* The usual Oriental formula when refusing a beggar's request for alms.

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1883) 1891
MA11 Hard MA11

table, and I will wash it here, as I have plenty of warm water,' and then you may take it and bury it."

"Very well," said the man, and he went to fetch the body.

The Hodja placed it on his table, and then said to the heaven, "Remain outside with my wife while I see to the corpse."

So the man went and sat down outside. The Hodja locked the door and fell a-thinking. Said he to himself, "I begrudge the warm water which I want for my clothes."

A small stream flowed past the house, and the Hodja finally decided to let it carry the dead man away unwashed. So, seizing the corpse by the legs, he threw it into the stream, which was swollen, and it was soon borne out of sight.

"I must now be wily with these men," said the Hodja to himself, and opening the door, he asked, "What has the life of the dead man been?"

"He was a rogue, a thief, and a cheat," was the general reply.

"So," said the Hodja, "that cannot be. You are mistaken. This man must have been a good man. When I had washed him on the table he opened his eyes and sat up. A silver chain then came down from heaven, angels came and took him up, and they said, 'This was indeed a man.'"

The simple villagers believed the words of the Hodja. "It was the will of Allah," they piously said, and returned to their homes. When, however, the corpse

[1] See Wisdom General view, p. 190.

Aside from this

work in building and repair, the only significant production 935
of the carpenters is the small chest used by housewives for 932
their goods. Almost every married woman has a collection 932
of "treasures," clothing, jewelry, glassware, and the like, 422
which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, a part of 95
her dowry, and a significant economic commodity, as it may [981]
include a sizeable sum in gold), and which is displayed
on festive occasions. These goods are stored in wooden
chests, sometimes covered with sheets of tin, and always
brightly painted. Two shops in Rwanda maintained by
carpenters display a large number of these, and there is
always a demand for them in the event of a wedding. The 402
carpenter's tools and equipment, mallets, hammers, planes, [419]
chisels, nails, and so on, are almost all imported from
Europe or elsewhere in the Middle East. Wooden bier, and 322
occasionally coffins, for the dead are also made by the [364]
carpenters. Smaller items of wood, such as cradles, are [854]
fashioned in the households of villagers.

The main work of the farriers and blacksmiths is 326
the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The govern- 231
ment veterinarian attends to the beasts of the civil [232]
service and army, but, although his services are available
to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in
addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in
curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and
blacksmiths, with their diminutive anvils and charcoal
fires, are within the henry, and the shoeing of a donkey

knowledge of radio. She also always referred to the investigator as "the gentleman from Kuré," the furthest point of her geography. Without entering into extended discussion, it might be said here, in concluding the remarks on adult entertainment, that the educational level of the townspeople, excepting those who have attended school, is extremely low. One often offered persons of the lower class in Rwanda and later in Egypt a small sum if they could name the first four religion, equivalent to asking an American or European Christian for the names of the first four books of the New Testament, and it was surprising how few were able to accomplish this seemingly easy feat.

If a man feels that he is approaching death, he often makes out his will in advance, a formality regulated by the government and arranged through the court of the judge. If a rich person has been unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca during his lifetime, he usually sets aside a certain amount to be paid to someone who will make the journey in his name. Persons of great wealth or chieftains occasionally allot sums to be given to poor people who visit their graves and recite a prayer for them. When death takes place, all of the female relatives of the deceased and their friends gather at the house. "A certain old woman comes who sings in such a way that the people weep. This is Amina Dakia who is also the corpse-washer, kirin niri, for the women. She earns her livelihood by serving in the houses of the rich,

764
[767]

cooking and baking, and is also a midwife." The women, squatting in the courtyard or before the house, smear their faces with dirt as a sign of grief. Then the corpse-washer, normally a barber, arrives with his assistants. Two tins of hot water are prepared, and the deceased is stretched naked on a board which serves as a bier. The corpse-washer first cleanses the areas under the arms and between the legs, and presses the abdomen to force out any excrement. With the second tin of hot water the whole body is washed, and the nails and hair of the deceased are trimmed. The corpse is then wrapped in a white winding sheet, usually containing a dozen or more square yards of material. Only the wealthy can afford coffins of wood, manufactured by the local carpenters, and most of the dead are interred without them.

A procession now takes place, leading from the house of the deceased to the mosque and then to the cemetery. "Everyone in the town, rich or poor, follows the bier, and the body is carried by many men, continually changing place so that each may receive the blessing of God for this pious act." The relatives and friends of the dead man walk directly behind the bier, and with them are the mullas or priests of the town. The procession halts before the great mosque, and one of the mullas customarily recites from the Quran and gives a brief eulogy of the deceased. Arriving at the graveyard above the town, there are further recitations and the body is buried. A curious

usage is recorded in this connection. If a man dies at night or when it is raining, the body is carried immediately to the mosque and left inside. The mullaq read over it throughout the night, and tea is offered visitors on the porch of the building. The corpse-washer comes to the mosque and carries out his tasks there. It might be mentioned that ordinary burial is always performed on the day of death. The grave is prepared by laborers prior to the arrival of the procession, and is so oriented that when the corpse is laid within on its right side, the face will look in the general direction of Mecca, in Rowandus to the southwest. After the grave has been filled, the relatives and friends of the deceased return home, and refreshments are given to all callers. Gifts of food are sent to the house by friends and neighbors. Another interesting custom now appears. Three days after the burial, a barber is called to cut the hair of the new head of the family of the deceased, if the latter has occupied this position. The house itself is rarely abandoned, except in those cases, common in the Middle East, in which some accident connected with the death, for example, one of the family getting blood on his hands, leads people to believe that continued occupancy would cause bad fortune.

There is no specific period of mourning, although it is usually several months before normal life is resumed. The men of the family wear no visible sign, but the women

put on dark coloured clothing, black or deep blue. For 765
most persons, an annual visit to the grave is required,
and at this time a sheep is sacrificed and its flesh dis-
tributed to the poor. Wealthier persons may enjoy weekly
visits and sacrifices, and those of the lower classes
must often ignore even the yearly sacrifice. The funerals 764
of women and children, depending on the status of their 562
husbands or fathers, are conducted with less ostentation. 858
There is no definite pattern of commemoration, weekly or
annual, and, in answer to the inquiry, it was always said
that these memorial parties of both men and women visited
the grave "as long as all shall live."

The cemetery of Rowandux occupies the flat crest of 764
the hill behind the town, and is dominated by a large oak
tree, one of the few in the area, a point which will be [197]
encountered again. The graves are oriented in parallel
lines with their heads pointed to the northwest. Most are
oblong mounds plastered with mortar rising about a foot
above the surface of the ground with a crudely hewn slab
of stone, several feet in height, at each end. In some
cases, the headstone of one serves as the foot of the
next. Only a few have inscriptions, some etched and
others carved in relief, and there was only one sarcophagus [211]
in the graveyard, a box of stone slabs bound with metal
clasps and elaborately carved decorations. Family burial
plots are separated by low fences of interlaced thorn.
Two graves were surrounded by a low, quadrilateral rubble 766
wall, indicating the grave of a sayyid, a descendant of

the Prophet's Tribe, or a holy man. The identities of 766
these two had been forgotten. In one there was the
conventional white rag tied to a pole leaning against the
wall, and in the other a tattered green banner hanging from
a flagpole whose ornament was a flat metal hand, the [751]
"Hand of Fatima" previously mentioned. Some graves had a 764
large quantity of broken blue porcelain scattered over them,
and it was said that this custom was followed if the
deceased was a young man, both to indicate the grave as
such and to avert further misfortune. There are indica-
tions, however, that breaking porcelain at death is a
cultural trait of some antiquity, and further study might
prove it an interesting index of historical connection. The
townspeople seem to take little care of their graveyard, [233]
and flocks customarily find pasture there, gathering under
the oak for shelter in the summer heat.

The mausoleum of Isma'il Beg might be mentioned 766
separately, because it is not found in the graveyard, but
beside the great house now ruled by Lali Khan, and differs
considerably from the typical Kurdish grave described above.
It is a small, square wooden building with a pitched roof
(itself a rarity in Kurdistan) entered by a door kept
locked during the night. The interior walls and ceiling
are plastered and painted with a light wash. To the
right of the door the sarcophagus stands, covered with
cloth so that identification of its material was not per-
mitted. Against the center of the wall facing the door,

4: Hansen ES (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

DEATH

Hospitals, naturally, are to be found in provincial towns like Hakkâri and Sulaimani and, of course, in the larger cities in the country. In Hakkâri I found that the male ward only had male nurses. In the villages there was no clinic, only, for example in Sargale, a trained male nurse with a supply of medicaments for distribution[17]. In regard to the attitude to medical assistance, my interpreter's father refused to allow a doctor to be summoned or for any of the patients in the house to be taken by cab to see one, during the outbreak of Asiatic influenza in Sulaimani in 1957. In the same house my interpreter's mother refused to seek medical aid for rheumatic pains in the back and possibly fever. One of the daughters stood on her back whilst she lay huddled up on the floor and massaged her in this way. A child in Topzawa with fever, who was taken to the small hospital at Dohuk on the following day, was the day previously undressed by an elderly woman and smeared over the whole body with freshly-churned butter.

The sick bed in the home is only used when the patient cannot stand up; even influenza patients in Sulaimani were taken a evening visits to the neighbours. For headaches they were given a bandage round the forehead[18]. All sufferers often went to sleep in the house where there were guests, re-appearing later in the evening. During the influenza epidemic, no measures were taken to isolate the eating and drinking utensils of the sick from those of the rest of the family. Spitting was much resorted to in the courtyard, on to clay roof and on the clay floor[19]. Broken arms and legs were ill tended, grew together badly, resting in mis-shapen limbs, cases of which I observed with small children both in Sulaimani and Sirtan. There was no snake serum in the villages. A harvester in Topzawa and a boy in Balkha who were bitten by snakes were taken by mule and later by hired car or bus a long distance to hospital for treatment. Spraying with DDT was used against vermin in the part of Kurdistan I visited. The letters painted on the walls of houses indicated that this had been done. According to Wilkinson, his spraying is done annually in the villages[20].

Neither the sick nor the dying were isolated even if it was possible to arrange a sickroom in the home.

Burial. No deaths took place among adults in the homes I stayed in in Kurdistan, but outside the mosque at Idrisa Rustam I had an opportunity to study the two objects used for the washing and transportation of the dead. The one was an oblong, very large knee-high table with a very heavy top and thick legs on which the corpse was washed. This was kept out for three days in the home where death had taken place and was then returned to the mosque—an understandable arrangement as in this cultural pattern the table is not a settled institution, but an exception. By the side of this laying-out table stood a bier, a oblong, wooden cross with a flat base, low legs and two short carrying poles at each end. This also belonged to the mosque. On this the body, clad in an unsewn costume and wrapped in the customary, but without a coffin, was transported to the burial ground outside the town[21]. The same type is found in Arabia[22] and Egypt[23].

Two children's deaths: a little girl's and a little boy's, took place among the people I lived with. Even though it was a matter of a child's funeral I observed certain differences, which have their parallels in adult funerals. As soon as death had taken place the child was taken up from its cradle

4: Hannen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

summoned from the mosque. He was assisted by the child's maternal uncle, *zal*. The washing was done, as had been the case with the little girl, women by the mother and close female relatives. In this house it was performed in the bath room. Being a woman, I was unable to see what the child was placed upon, but the body was dressed in the antechamber of the room on a bench there. In this case, the death involving a male, the material for ornaments and washing glove was torn into pieces by a man, the uncle, though the washing glove was also here sewn by one of the women (half-sister of the dead child). Neither the mother nor any other woman of the house broke into lamentation, and no sacrifice of any animal was made, but just as with the little girl, the child glided out of its mother's world from the moment the corpse washer had lifted it up and carried it into the bathroom. Later, it was carried to the mosque wrapped, as the little girl had been, in a prayer rug outside the ornaments. In the grave the body lies on the right side with the face pointing in the direction towards Mekka. The dead are covered with stones, and then with earth in a flattened oblong mound. Two flat, roughly-hewn oblong slabs—one at the head and one at the feet[90]—are raised. The burial grounds outside the villages and provincial towns vary, as a rule, marked by one or more big trees, the only trees of any great size in the landscape. Burial places looked bare and barren, like those in Arabia. In 1934 Chirap[91] stressed the great difference between the dreary, naked burial grounds of the Arabs, devoid of vegetation, and those of the Turks, which are planted and have sculptured gravestones, whereas the Arab stones, like those in Kurdish burial grounds, are rough, undecorated, and without inscriptions. According to what I was told by my interpreter, a relative's grave is visited for five years after the death. The women went out there every Friday, a thing I did not notice in respect of the children's deaths. After that the grave is forgotten.

The religious and mourning meal for friends and acquaintances referred to by Juynboll[92], customary in Islamic areas, was not given in the case of the two children's deaths. The day the child died, no food was cooked in the house, and the only thing obtainable was bread and water melon. Nikitine mentions that among Kurds a special pastry[93] was issued three days after the funeral to neighbours and friends. This was only done in the case of an adult death, not with a child, a thing I both noticed and was told. Some hours after the death visits of condolence begin. They are made by women, always without jewellery. These visits continued for three days. As part of the mourning ceremony the bathroom that had been used for the washing of the corpse was closed, and neither heated nor used for the next eight days. The period of mourning for a child is fourteen days, during which time the cinema is not visited and picnics are not attended. For an adult member of the family the mourning period was said to last for two to three years, visits of condolence being paid for a week. During the mourning years visits may be paid to other families in cases of deaths, but otherwise people remain at home. Women wear black or dark coloured dresses, and any marriage is celebrated as quietly as possible. The sudden death of an old man at Topzawa the day before a triple wedding resulted in the men's dance, otherwise obligatory, being dropped.

To sum up the most typical features of Kurdish funerals in Iraq: They take place immediately after death. No death certificate is issued if the deceased is an infant. The ornaments must be of new, white cotton material, which even in the middle of the night can be purchased in the *sūq*, the owner of the booth being summoned for this purpose. Girls are washed by women and boys by men; in both

4. Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

764 cases without using the washing board stored at and lent out by the mosque, and not within sight of the mother. Her rôle is a completely passive one. The ornaments must consist of an unequal number of pieces of cloth. Neither knifes nor scissors are used to divide the material. Both the girl and the boy are carried from the home to the mosque, and then the burial ground, swathed in a prayer carpet over the ornaments. Children are carried by a male relative (mother's brother: *akl*), accompanied by other men. Lamentations incompatible with Islam and the sacrifice of a fowl were practised in the uneducated urban milieu. The sacrifice was not specially because a child was dead as is the case in Egypt, but because two deaths in the family had occurred shortly after each other and it was desired to avert a third in the near future. The mourning period for a child is a fortnight. The bathroom used for washing the corpse was shut for eight days afterwards. The women of the family visit the grave every Friday for five years, after which it is forgotten. Memorial cakes are distributed to friends and acquaintances in connection with a death. The mourning period for adults is two-three years. Visits of condolence take place for eight days when a child dies. The women of the family remove their ornaments and abstain from baths during this time.

[369] [765] 765 [515] [301]

Fig. 95. Burial place with big trees outside the village. Tepsawa.

764 342 361

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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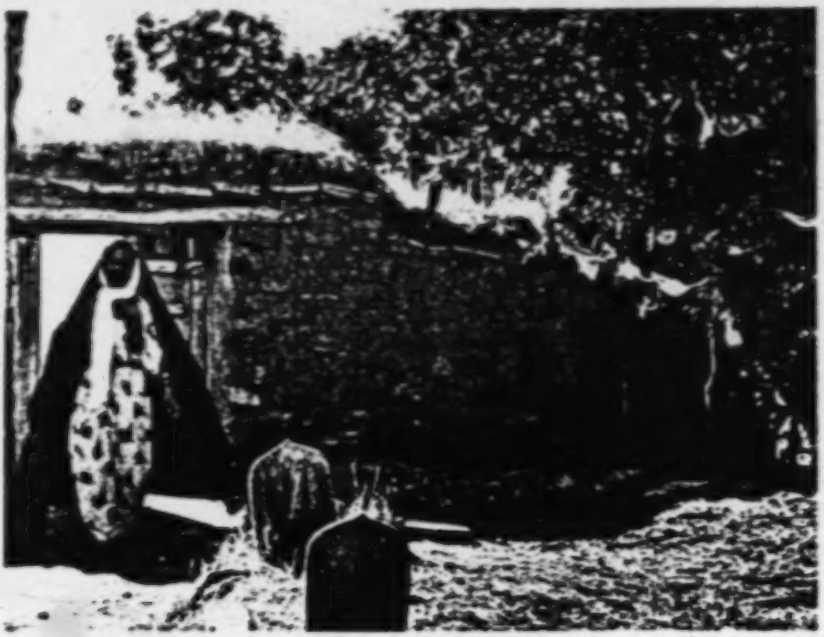
Rag trees, rag poles and sacrifices. Two different religious survivals could be seen in Kurdistan: The one, a tree hung with rags standing outside the chapel-like building that housed the saint's grave outside Halabja. A similar type of rag tree adorned not only by rags but also by a ram's-horn, with a holy hand set up beside it, stood inside the grating that protected a sacred grave. This lay in the middle of a newly-built section on the outskirts of Sulaimani. Gravestones sticking up here and there between houses showed that the quarter had been raised on what once had been a burial ground.

The other phenomenon: rods each of which bore a single rag like a flag. These rods were planted within a rampart at the burial ground at Topzawa; similar rods were placed within an earthworks at the burial ground of the twin village of Rakawa. No rags were hung on the branches of big trees in the burial ground. A group of rods with rags attached, also behind a low earthworks, marked a grave at the side of the Sulaimani-Chamchamal road in the vicinity of Sulaimani. (No rags on the trees near by.) It appeared to be a matter of two different phenomena: in the one case a tree with branches hung with rags; in the other, rods each bearing a single rag. These rods might be sited under large

Fig. 100. Tree hung with rags outside a saint's grave. Halabja. The woman wearing *abā* and headveil.



4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

778 H64

Fig. 101. Rods with rags tied on, planted inside stone wall on the burial ground outside Rakawa.

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trees which bore no rags at all. Fraser[36] also distinguishes between these two cases when writing about "heaps of stones" in Kurdistan, which must correspond to Feilberg's[37] saints' graves in Luristan; the matter is also referred to by Bishop[38]. Fraser says: "Those who have benefited tear shreds from their shirts or trousers and tie them to the bushes around", but he also speaks of other graves of great men marked with "... a pole with a flag to point out the place to utter a prayer". Maunsell[39] also distinguishes between the two things, but lets them be found at the same spot, saying: "... a low stonewall" (that surrounds a holy grave) "on which ... green and white flags ... On the branches which overhung the shrine rags and scraps of clothing ...". It was said concerning the grave with the rag tree on the building site near Sulaimani, that it was pregnant women and sick persons who had become hale that hung up the rags as votive offerings. This agrees with Feilberg's[40] report that the Lurs "envoie les femmes pour qu'elles deviennent fécondes ..." to the holy graves.

[753] [755]

Donaldson[41] refers to "desire giving trees", though without a grave, and goes on to say: "Perhaps at one time a holy man, or a descendant of the Prophet, sat under such a tree ... it came to be ve-

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

30

574 of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as
556 follows:-
672

1	The Agha himself	
1	Wife	
3	Sons	
4	Daughters	
7	Maidservants	} Mostly kinsfolk of some sort
4	Manservants	}
1	Mulla	
1	Brother	
5	Guests	
3	By exaggeration	
30		

In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as "the expenses of the Guest House", though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

263 Moreover the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not
272 the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee:
177 especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Russian style
435 of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Kurdistan. The tea
574 is brewed very strong over samovars and served with enormous quantities of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about 45/- a bag (of 56 Kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Dergala about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £27 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically effected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and mostly frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an
764 Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

262 On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship,
511 between the Guest House and the Aghas net income, the importance of Guest House expenditure in the economics of the group as a whole must